843
844 "faked labor pains to hold down her errant husband!" or so a sour mother-in-law said (Hauck,ibid.).

844
789 Finally, one day, Dūan felt uncomfortable and decided not to go out to plow. Lek prepared for her hot-tasting medicine. When Song came in at eleven from work, he went to the garden, to the little house of the family's protecting spirit (san phra phūm), lighted incense and offered flowers, asking that it and the ancestors help his wife and keep away evil ghosts. He also prayed for help of the ancestors. Hī went to ask Sāi not to go far away that day and to ask in what exact direction to push over the woodpile. Sāi replied, "Push it over in the direction the snake lies today, so that Dūan and the wood lie parallel with their heads and its apex in the same direction to the north and east. Never let them be to the south and west." A passing boatman saw the wood go over. "There's news to tell!" he said. "The child is being born!" Dūan thought she ought to send away her little son, but he refused to go, and stayed by his mother the whole time. Song's sister came by for a visit, but stayed to help after getting word to their parents. It was no time for visitors, especially men, but any helpers, male or female, were welcome. Lek prepared the all-important ceremonial gift, the khwan khāo (soul-rice), for the midwife, which validated, and insured the use of, her private magic. She put a bunch of bananas, 7 betel pepper leaves, 7 areca nuts, flowers, incense sticks, a candle, and 20 baht into a bowl filled with dry rice grains. A little later she strung the holy thread around the 4 walls of the house. On each side she attached "yan," (Skr.: yantra). These protective cloths, about 10 inches square with magical letters and drawings, kept away the terrifying phi krasū spirits, seen as lights at night, who, attracted by bad smell and blood, would creep up the housepost, eat Dūan's blood, intestines, and faeces through her anus. Then Hī went again to Sāi to report that "the pain was increasing." These words were the signal to Sāi that it was time for her come.

[431
782]

As Dūan was to profit from the magic, it was better that she herself hand the midwife the khwan khāo bowl. Sāi lit the incense and offered the bowl in gratitude to the teacher who had given her her magic. She whispered in the direction of Dūan's head, "All good spirits in the high heavens and in the locality, help and do not obstruct at this delivery! Give happiness to mother and baby!" Placing the bowl on a high place to the side of Dūan's head, she said, "My teacher is long since dead, but will hear this request, and will pass the request and the khwan khāo to her teacher, and so on, back all those thousands

562 delivery, "her blood was purified to a white color to become
[827] the milk of the breast."[48] Nursing a child was the essence
[853] of a woman's function, the supremely feminine act. A priest said, "A mother mercifully receives the khwan into her womb, and for maintaining life gives more of her own body, strength, and care (i.e. than does the father). Mothers are born to love children. Theirs is a steady intent to provide children with successful existences. To a mother one is most grateful" (S.S.).

562 In a wider context, not only all their household members
462 but people anywhere were the objects of women's nurture:
252 women were in charge of the cooking even if occasionally
264 helped by men. At the meals they prepared they were often the last to eat, so often "holding back and eating whatever was left over," that in a poor houshold, short rationing daily was probable (Hauck, et al.:35,49). One old lady expressed deep satisfaction that she "did not feel hungry any more." She construed this as proof that she had ample
[1] 82 merit, but it also meant that she was a great donor who gave
[431] continuously and took little. Women usually offered the
[796] early morning food to priests in behalf of the family, and they took charge of cooking the immense amount of food served at large ceremonies and temple festivities. When
593 age pushed women past their mature capacities, they returned
888 to the status of recipients. A son said of his senile mother, "She has gone back to being a child" (klap pai pen dek). The son's wife cooked delicacies for her.

562 A desire to give tender care and nourishment was deemed
857 inborn in all women. Although sex was not strongly
[291] differentiated in babyhood,[49] by age 3 a hard-to-handle
[593] skirt was put on a tiny girl, who reacted with vast pride. By 5, girls were helping with cooking and baby tending. Often has an older sister of 9 or 12 been observed patiently feeding her charge the ice cream she longed to eat herself.

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[822] 48. This very phrase was congruent with the colors associated with the khwan. Red or white flags, or pieces of cloth, or puddings (khanom) were required wherever khwan were involved, such as in rice, san phra phûm, and tham khwan ceremonies. Red was an auspicious color, white symbolized innocence and purity.

[856] 49. Anuman Rajadhon reports, though, that at the moment of birth, the child's sex was immediately "adjusted" (Anuman Rajadhon:127).

426 Because of scattered farms and frequent shortage of cash, borrowing food and other items, and many exchanges of service were necessary. Blood-kin were easier to approach, and in the larger social unit, nearer. Borrowing from a non-kin neighbor was supposed to be less frequent, and the favor had to be returned more promptly and exactly.

434 Most opportunities for increasing cash income such as hiring out as temporary farm labor, digging canals, marketing eggs, mushrooms, or cooked snacks, took one out of the home, often overnight. In the small family, one partner was left at home. Both could not go because fear of theft forbade leaving a home unoccupied for any length of time.

The Buddhist Priesthood

792 At the temple lived twenty or thirty priests under the abbot, with a group of boys to serve them. The priesthood was maintained by daily voluntary offerings of food, with larger donations of food and commodities at certain times. Persons who thus "made merit," by supporting the priesthood, by giving to the needy, and adhering to the ethical tenets of the Buddhist religion, reaped a reward of health, happiness, wealth and eventually, freedom from rebirth. The immediacy of these beliefs must not be underestimated. Men only were ordained. They might resign at any time after three months, but some spent their lives in the priesthood.

792 262 431 In Bang Chan, throughout the year, the priests set out at dawn to receive cooked food for the day. They appeared at houses by more or less specific arrangement and were given a generous share of the food prepared by the family for its own use, sometimes with the addition of fruit and other delicacies. Each priest stopped at two or more houses. The food then was brought to the temple to be eaten at 8 and 11. For the rest of the day the priests fasted, i.e. they ate no solid food, but drank liquids such as tea, soft drinks, and recently, tinned milk and a fortified malted milk drink. Priests were also invited to eat in homes not only at large ceremonies, but at small merit-making occasions. Sporadic special food offerings were also received. If a buffalo died, much of the meat was usually given to the temple. Traditional practitioners, mid-wives, and ceremonialists always gave the priests a portion of the fees from their practice which consisted in 1 or 2 liters of milled rice, a bunch of bananas, and perhaps cash. On the numerous Buddhist holidays and at specially organized temple convocations, quantities of cooked, preserved and raw foods were brought to the temple and apportioned among the priests. From this bounty a meal was served to the priests, who ate while the villagers looked on in satisfaction.

One of the duties of the abbot was to coordinate the

792 village offers of regular service, the holiday offerings, home
262 invitations and sporadic gifts so that all priests had places
441 to go, no one had much more than any other, and that the whole temple did not undergo periods of undue glut[1] or hardship.

792 About mid-July, Buddhist Lent changed the food habits
796 somewhat. This three-month period corresponded with the height
262 of the rainy season. Priests did not leave the temple to gather offerings on rainy mornings, but younger priests, assisted by the temple boys, cooked meals from supplies on hand. On the first day of Lent, people brought less perishable foods: green bananas, coconuts, sugar cane, pomelo, sweet potatoes, taro, onions, garlic, salt, sugar, dry salted beef paste, dried fish, canned goods, and milled rice. During Lent fresh or cooked foods were brought in, and some ladies volunteered to cook for varying periods of time. On a holiday in September, families made up such quantities of a sweet of "puffed" glutinous rice, sesame seed, and peanuts pounded and held together with sirup and sometimes covered with grated coconut that priests were tired of it and many children got diarrhea from overeating of it.

In mid-October, the Lenten restrictions ended with another holiday offering, and thereafter the priests went regularly on their appointed rounds.

796 On Buddhist holidays, the people did not usually eat any
261 of the food brought to the temple, but on (3)thaauad (2)ka-(5)thin[2], an all-day festival held in October or November, after feeding the priests, the people also ate bounteously.

792 Residing at Wat Bang Chan in 1954 were 22 boys, aged 10
857 to 16, sent to serve the priests, get their living and attend
262 school. Most of them were from poor or disorganized homes. They shared the food offerings from which they received three meals a day. Among the children's food records, the food listed by these boys as eaten the day before was comparatively diverse.

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792 1. Amounts of food given usually exceeded the actual
262 needs of the priests and temple boys. One instance was noted
737 in which food was sent by the priests to a needy old person
235 nearby. Leftover rice was dried and sold for chicken feed.

114 2. The transcription used throughout this report is
104 that described by Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 12-15. Numbers in parentheses represent the different tones of the syllables.

264 would not come willingly to work. When a family with a repu-
476 tation for stinginess diluted the (3)khaaw (3)tom too much,
[574] the group refused to eat any, thereby reminding the host of his obligation for hospitality.

574 Guests to whom meals were served fell into four categories: 1) kin, 2) visiting dignitaries, 3) priests and 4) drinking companions. Kinfolk who came as guests were married children, or those who were away at school or work, or kinsmen from Bangkok or elsewhere. The older the relative or the greater the distance travelled, the greater the honor accorded him. Foods were exchanged. Two visiting ladies travelling in a large boat, made an annual round of all their relatives, bringing certain "city" foods and receiving substantial gifts of rice, fish and fruit. They stayed for several days as guests of one family, then moved on. Every person from Bang
• [43] Chan who visited a relative in Bangkok carried big packages of food, usually rice or eggs, as gifts. With the inflated prices in Bangkok, it was advantageous to have a "country cousin" who might bring food. Visiting kinsmen always recognized the need for eventual reciprocity.

Visiting dignitaries were usually entertained by hamlet headmen. Meals served to visiting officials, policemen and others might be elaborate, involving cooperative help in preparation, but reciprocity, if any, rarely took the form of a return meal.

[792] Regular visits of the priests, as well as the invitation of priests to the house for special events, have been mentioned. Priests might also come from afar, usually staying at the temple but receiving generous offerings of food from people of the community.

[562] The custom of convivial get-togethers of either or both sexes was well established. Men traditionally enjoyed "stag" dinners of four up to twenty or more whenever the ingredients for a turtle, frog, cobra or other snake curry were available. Chicken curry might also be thus served, and once a catfish mash was prepared by a male visitor from the north. Those curries were cooked by men, and the host served liquor freely.
784 The all-male character of the occasion reflected the old re-
588 strictions on women's partaking of flesh foods (see p. 42),
273 but older women did not hesitate to join in the drinking.
524 Women also got together in drinking parties, sometimes to play cards.

In addition to sharing food with people in these four categories, the general rules of hospitality required that anyone who came to the house at meal time, should be offered food, or at least a drink of liquor, tea, or plain water.

fishing and selling vegetables, they managed to obtain a fair diet. The father's skill as a masseur was valued especially at periods of heavy farm work, after childbirth, and by the cooks at a ceremonial feast. This brought in from 2 to 12 baht per week.

In Group A, Families 67 and 103 were at the most difficult period of life, with young, dependent children, and housing, land and equipment to be acquired. By great industry, including egg production from a flock of 60 chickens, and by severe "belt-tightening," Household 103 was lifting itself into a propertied position. The parents in Household 67 were shy. One or the other of the two older children often stayed home from school to look after the baby, so that both parents could work. Husband and wife in Household 12 were both very shy, the only ones in the survey group who were at all reluctant to participate. They seemed ashamed of limited food. The wife was frequently ill. In Household 222, the 14-year old daughter often gathered and sold vegetables at Minburi before school in the morning. She might have full charge of the younger children for days at a time. A daughter who worked as a servant in Bangkok contributed 50 baht per month to this household. In Household 215, the activities of the wife as medium were predominant. Pay included food, often cooked, and the free use of 3½ rai of land, as well as cash. Maintenance of a son in school in Bangkok cost about 1000 baht per year plus 60 tang of rice. In Household 2, the elderly wife's services as "boss-buyer and cook" at ceremonials, and as marriage go-between did not bring in cash, but gifts, clothing and much participation in feasts.

All families in the survey group were Thai Buddhists, and 6 of them offered food to priests more or less regularly. On 17 of the 24 survey days when the observer visited these households, food was offered. Two of the 5 families that did not customarily give food to priests, did so on one and two survey days, respectively. In one case food was offered to a son who had been recently ordained. Rice was always included in the food offered, and in 3 of the 20 instances observed rice only was given. The weight of cooked rice given by one family in one day ranged from 185 to 1210 grams, with an average of about 600 grams. In 16 instances, some cooked food such as fish or vegetable curry was given with the rice; in one instance fresh pineapple was given.

Cash Expenditures for Food. - Mean total, and per capita daily cash expenditures for food for survey days, are shown, by household in Table 8. (See Table 2, p. 23 for division of food expenditures for Groups A,B) Although cash expenditures for food varied considerably, the amounts in all cases were small, and approximated figures obtained by Janlekha (1955) for 106 households. Larger consumption of animal products, which were the most expensive items purchased,

177 244 cent of the respondents report that they have engaged in this activity). Even if no mushrooms have ever been grown in a given household, it is still likely that the individuals in it are aware of the practice and have observed it closely through the mushroom growing activities of their friends, relatives, and neighbors (reported in 43 per cent of the households). Only a few households (13 per cent) report that they have never grown mushrooms or have never been exposed to it in this way.

243 244 234 177 At the height of the boom, the demand for rice straw swept many of the fields clean of the stubble usually left there after harvest, thereby decreasing food for the roaming buffalo and the small increment of nutrients usually plowed back into the soil.

The advantages of mushroom culture cited by Goldsen and Ralis (1957) were 1) the cash outlay required was small, 2) returns were realized quickly as the cycle was completed in two to three weeks, 3) little heavy work was required and 4) at the time when Ralis made the survey, a ready market was available. When, in 1957, the price dropped sharply, most of the growers gave up.

262 435 796 431 792 875

Food for Homage-to-the-Teacher Rite Performed by a Buddhist Priest Who Was a Traditional Practitioner

Item	Amount	Cost in Baht	Item	Amount	Cost in Baht
Cereals and Legume Seeds:			Fish and Meat (cont.):		
Rice noodles		10.	Dried fish	6	gift
Soybeans & fermented vegetables	25 kg.	12.	Roasted fish	3 kg.	gift
			Shrimp paste	2 kg.	18.
			Lobsters		15.
Mung beans	10 lit.	25.	Lobsters (for soup)		7.50
Cassava flour		2.25			
			Pig's skin (for soup)		10.
Sugar and dessert:			Beef[1]	15 kg.	150.
Palm sugar	1 pail	67.	Ingredients for Mussel-man curry[1]		27.
Cane sugar	14 kg.	85.			
(2)Kha-(5)nom (3)tuaj-(1)foo	500 cups	35.	Boiled chickens[2]	2	22.
			Pig's head[2]	4 heads	222.
Fish and Meat:			Pork[2]	4 kg.	40.
Fish ((1)plaa (2)myk) for soup		6.			
Silurus and serpenthead	60 kg.	gift			

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

she gives it to me." In describing his relationship with his maternal grandparents, with whom he spent all but two of the first twelve years of his life, this same person says:

> My younger sister and I were born one year after the other. So mother gave me to grandmother to be weaned. I lived with her until I became a novice at the monastery at the age of twelve. I lived with grandmother, so I loved grandmother and grandfather more. I loved grandmother even more than my own mother and father. Wherever grandfather and grandmother went, I went too. Grandmother loved me: she always gave me sweets and toys. I had everything I wanted because I was the only young thing in the house. She loved me. She was going to give her property to me, land and gold, as much as she was going to give to her own children. But it was only a promise. I got the gold, but not the land, because when grandmother died, grandfather got a new wife. She was young. . . . I didn't quite like her. The young woman was too economical. . . . Sometimes she prevented grandfather from buying good things for me. When grandfather was going to buy gold or anything for me, she stopped him. She wanted him to buy for her more than for his grandchild.

This excerpt, taken from the biography of one of the life history informants and comprising almost the complete portrayal of the relationship between the informant and the individuals with whom he spent the crucial years of his childhood, is by no means atypical. The point is that of all the myriad elements in the relationship, or of all the loving characteristics that in his eyes the grandparents had, he chose to emphasize only the material gifts they had given him as the measure of their love. Other informants are no different: one man said he knew his father did not love him because when he died he left the family home to the Buddhist monastery; and a woman said she admired her father because "when he died there was property left. He was a good man: he did not abandon his children. He was worried about them." (Her other reason for *admiring* him was that "he was the person who brought me into the world.")

The other major form of familial love is evidenced in the camaraderie, warmth, and generosity that surrounds the family in planning and accomplishing the various tasks associated with rice farming. As indicated earlier, the cultivation and harvesting of rice is not only an economic operation in Bang Chan, but almost a way of life. When villagers must deal with the very real and complex problems of planting and bringing in the harvest, all the individualistic propensities, and even to an extent the authority patterns, with which they normally indulge themselves recede before the coöperative requirements of the task at hand. In a very real sense the functional requirements of the economic activity, particularly during

Question 42.c. (Cont'd)

Need for Money in Bangkok (Only happy there when have plenty of money)	6	125
Amount of effort in earning a living (Have to work every day there	4	369
Other reasons (Too many poor people there, many illnesses there, the life of the people there depends on the farmer, people from Bangkok always go to the country when anything bad happens, people can be happy both places, different people have different hearts)	12	829
No Answer	4	
Don't know	5	

Question 46.b. For what various activities did you contribute labor? 125

Earth work		653
Earth work at Wat	18	
Earth work at Mosque	7	
Earth work, unspecified (digging dirt, filling low places, digging Klong, loading and unloading earth and bricks)	53	
Cement Work		
Cement work at Wat (moved cement bags, laid concrete floor)	12	
Cement work, unspecified (building cement sidewalks, helped make concrete, poured concrete)	14	
Building and Repairs		
Building sala (pavilion, repairing pavilion)	51	
Building mosque (repairing Surao porch)	8	
Built priest house, construction work in wat, latrine in Wat, repair crematorium	18	
Building bridge	21	
Building road	13	
Constructionwork, unspecified (carried posts, repair a building, carpentry)	7	
Services		
At Wat fair (helped cook and serve, helped manage, sweeping)	27	
At Surao fair (helped cook and serve)	3	
Services, unspecified (boiled water, cooked, carried water)	15	
Guilding the gold leaf, miscellaneous labor at footprint guilding festival)	7	
Priest's funeral (cooked, helped at cremation)	7	
Other (served at Katlin ceremony, solicited money for Wat)	3	

Question 46.d. For what various activities did you contribute money or goods? 125

		431
To the Wat, unspecified	19	651
Contribution, unspecified	19	
Construction activities		
To build pavilion (sala), to repair pavilion	57	
To make path, build street on Wat grounds	27	

125 Question 46.d. (Cont'd)

431 Construction activities (Cont'd)
651 To the Wat (to repair Wat, construction in Wat, fixing walls) 27
Contribution for building materials (buy cement, concrete floor, wood and tin, for new cement sidewalks, water tank) 21
To Surao (general fund, repair) 9
To build a bridge 8
To buy a generator 6
To build priest's house bathroom 5
To build preaching hall 3

[796] Ceremonials
[764] For ceremonies, unspecified 12
To guild the golden leaf 27
To cremation (to build crematorium; to cremate father, people without relatives; to build corpse go-down; priest's funeral) 12
To Wat fair 10
Other (to Katlin, to revise the Buddhist sacred book, to ordain priest, for building Buddha figure, to New Year festival, for dancing girls) 11
To Surao fair 4

Food and related donations
Gave rice, unspecified 5
Gave rice (food) for Wat, priests 18
Gave rice for Wat fair 7
To buy utensils (including cooking utensils) for Wat 6
To buy utensils for Surao 6
Gave food to Surao 1

178 592 621 [593] because four members of her family had just left her to establish families of their own. The son-in-law accepted this invitation and had since taken over the management of his mother-in-law's large 60-rai rice farm.

Case 10: In 1949, an old woman was living with two boys, one distantly related to her, the other without any [427] [792] [431] blood relationship. She was operating a small rented rice farm. Some time in the past she had made a generous offer of her own house to the temple which was not acted upon by the receiving party. In 1953, the headpriest contemplated an expansion of one of the temple buildings and approached the woman for the gift. The woman complied with the request, had her house dismantled, saving only the kitchen, and sent all the building materials to the temple. Meanwhile, the two boys had left her; one went to live with his mother in [593] [437] the village, the other went to Bangkok. Later, the woman joined the household of her younger brother, who lived next door, with the understanding that the brother had free use of her buffalo in exchange for her room and board.

Case 11: In 1949, a woman was living in KY8 with her aged mother and her baby born of her separated husband [586] [587] who was a policeman. Two years later, the woman married a widower, who lived in the same hamlet, and brought along her mother and son to live with her new husband.

With the exception of Case 6, a lone aged woman who was survived by none after her death, these cases may be grouped according to the nature of acceptance of the families

591 A factor that should also be taken into account was that he
592 had a regular income of 450 baht a month from his job in the
434 Highways Department, which by the village standard was more than enough for him to live comfortably with his second wife.

591 Historical records of the 96 farm operating families do not contain information as to how the 50 families passing through nascent period were divided into those staying with wives' families and those staying with husbands' families. The 1953 census, however, reveals that of 48 married couples then living in 42 families of parents of either side (four such families included two couples and one family three couples), 23 were with husbands' parents and 25 with wives' parents. The proportion may thus be estimated at about one to one.

59 During the nascent period, the couple ordinarily
434 received from the parents they were staying with a kind of
• [431] annual bonus locally called lampai which varied according to the economic status as well as generosity of the parents. Lampai took several different forms. Thus, a couple might receive all the paddy harvested from a specified area of the field of three, five, or ten rai; they might be given a fixed quantity of the crop -- say 50 or 100 tang; they might receive cash -- say 500 baht or any other varying amount. In some cases, the couple were expected to earn their lampai outside the family farm after obligation to family work had been fulfilled. This took the form of piece-working or trivial trade.

59 If no lampai was given, the parents might give some gold in
[431]

59
[431] the form of a necklace as a token of appreciation. During this time, no matter how old they were, the couple should ask permission before going out or at least let the parents know where and why they wanted to go, and they were expected to help without having to be asked to in the family's field and in general housework.

Opinions of the villagers themselves on the advantages and disadvantages of the nascent period varied. On the one hand, staying with parents was viewed as a prolongation of a morally compulsory service to the old family which was economically disadvantageous to the newly wed couple. This was implicit in the following statement made by one villager concerning the length of the nascent period.

> There are many factors which determine the length of the nascent period:
>
> 1. Availability of family labor. If younger siblings are old enough to help the parents, the couple will spend only a short time with the old family.
>
> 2. Greed on the part of the couple. They want to have a share of the product of their labor. If they stay with parents, they are not supposed to get any unless the parents are willing to give it to them. They think, 'If we have a child, what would we have for him?' So they try to move out as soon as possible.
>
> 3. Lack of self-confidence on the part of the couple. This leads to a prolonged stay. Even when younger siblings are old enough to help the parents, the couple still may feel more secure to stay with the parents, for they do not want to take care of themselves.
>
> 4. Pride. Nang A married Nai B and continued to live with her parents. One day A was criticized for being sharp (she was accused of keeping part of the crop for her own). So A and B got together and planned to move outwith the intention of building

59 themselves up; financially to compete with A's parents.

The same informant said further, however, that usually it was up to the couple themselves to decide when to leave the old family. Parents, in his words, "rarely drive the offspring out. They also rarely resist the couple's decision to leave. The most they can do in case labor is badly needed is to ask the couple to stay a year or two longer."

591 494 On the other hand, a second informant, a headman as was the first, indicated that the five-year period he and his wife spent with his wife's parents immediately after their marriage in 1922 was their most prosperous time. As [431] lampai the couple were given the harvest from a 5-rai parcel each year. When he married, he already had five baht weight [426] of gold. With surplus income, he was engaged in lending for interest. Accumulation during their five years' stay with the parents included timber enough to construct the new home when they moved out, one hundred tang of paddy, and forty baht weight of gold.

As a matter of fact, there are several factors that should be taken into consideration in evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of a newly wed couple undergoing the nascent period. These are the lampai arrangement, willingness of the parents to let the couple earn extra income from sources outside the family, current wage rate and job opportunity, and, most important, the current profitability of the farming business which is assumed to be the alternative

591 if the couple do not choose to stay with the parents. In
434 any event, the fact that the couple are more or less free to leave the old family provides an opportunity for the couple to escape all the disadvantages that might be imposed upon them, leaving all the advantages to be acquired.[10] As for those who apparently discounted the merit of the nascent period, the author suspects that they neglected to consider the expected net income from farming and that they were unrealistic in thinking only of wage rate and in underestimating the more crucial problem of job opportunity.

59
• 431 In addition to their own wealth accumulated during the nascent period, gifts in the form of farm equipment,
434 paddy and land were usually given to the couple by their parents at the time they left them to establish an independent family. Of 80 separating families (Table 7), however, 17 reported that they received nothing whatsoever from their parents. Among the remaining 63 families that received something, there was a wide variation in the kind and the amount of the gift, ranging from a single buffalo with an incomplete set of farm equipment to 228 rai of rice land with a complete set of farm equipment as well as a stock of paddy to last the new family until the coming harvest. Parental gifts to newly established families are shown in Table 8.

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10. At least two cases were known where the couples, not ready to start a family of their own, left the old families and moved into families of the other spouses.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 91]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 8

PARENTAL GIFTS TO 63 NEWLY ESTABLISHED FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1909-48

593
431
434

Items	Number of Families Receiving	Range of Individual Gift	Total	Average for Those Receiving
F. implement*	63	1 set	63 sets	1 set
Buffalo	47	1-4 heads	73 heads	1.5 heads
Land	37	6-228 rai	1112 rai	30 rai
Paddy stock	32	40-1000 tang	4495 tang	140 tang
Building	12	1-2 bldg.	16 bldg.	1.3 bldg.
Cash	4	80-400 baht	760 baht	190 baht
Boat	3	1 boat	3 boats	1 boat
Gold	2	2-20 baht**	22 baht**	11 baht**

* Only basic items were included -- plow, harrow, sickle, etc.

** One baht weight of gold is equivalent to fifteen grams.

593 There was one item of parental gifts which is not
431 shown in Table 8 -- the household equipment. Two of the
415 63 families reported that they received a complete set of kitchen utensils, and two included jars in their gift lists. After checking the result of this survey with some informants, however, many admitted that they did not include these kitchen utensils in the list because they were obvious items. Nevertheless, there was no basis on which it could be inferred that every newly established family received a set of the kitchen utensils. It was therefore decided to omit the household equipment from the table.

593 Another form of parental gifts was the practice,
427 if the parents had enough land to spare, of letting the
423 couple work on some ten or twenty rai free of charge for the first two years. Rent might be charged after that, but there were also cases in which the couples continue to work on the parcel without paying any rent to their parents and finally took it for granted that the parcels belonged to them.

Economic Significance of the Family

59 Much space has been devoted to discussion of the family because of its significant role as the only organized producing unit in the village economy. Another important function of the family was mentioned in previous sections -- through privileges extended to the majority of newly wed couples during the nascent period, the old family facilitated

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 463 [423] [431] Third, among the land owning class the newly established family usually received from their parents an outright gift of land or the benefit of free use of a certain area of land for two or more years. They would not receive this gift if they did not pursue rice farming.

It is seen, then, that while rice growing might have become less attractive as an occupation, there are still some cultural factors that have been working to confirm the Bangchan villagers in their preference for rice cultivation.

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511 needs at least two work suits in each rice season, one during the field preparation and another during the harvesting season.

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511 Kerosine is used every day for lighting purposes. We do not include in this category kerosine which is used in the farm work; but that used with the pressure lamp in fishing by spearing during the night is included in the ordinary household expenses, for we do not consider fishing as a farm enterprise but as a routine activity participated in by all Bangchan residents, farmers and non-farmers alike.

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511 Contributions to neighbors is a necessary item of expense in the village. These are cash gifts made by invited guests to the sponsor of such rituals as ordination, cremation, marriage, topnotch-cutting, and teacher worship.
[792]
[764]
[585] These rituals usually take place during the dry season following harvesting when cash is abundant in the village and are always followed by feasts, not uncommonly in a series of two or three days. Since all these rituals necessitate the participation of the priests, they have to be arranged in consultation with the temple to avoid conflicting schedules. Although few rituals have been noted to be in conflict with one another, usually they are spread throughout the dry season and m ost people are able to attend rituals to which they are invited. In cases where they cannot attend in person, they are obliged by conventional requirement to send in their cash contributions. The standard cash contribution is 5 - 10 baht. Usually, a

431 guest contributes exactly the same amount that was given
476 him by the man when he last attended his party. Written
796 account is always kept by the host specifying contributors
511 and respective amounts given. When invited to a ritual, the guest consults his book and takes along an appropriate amount of cash. It is on this basis of reciprocal help that a prospective sponsor of a ritual has been able to determine the size of cash contribution he would receive from neighbors. Since a guest normally contributes no more than ten baht and no less than five baht, his annual expense on this item depends largely on the number of parties he attends each year. Our records for 1952 show that this ranges from 30 to 1,000 baht, averaging 343 baht.

27
511 We include in the personal item of expenses the amounts spent on traveling, entertainment, coffee, liquor, etc. To be sure, some of these should be grouped under the stimulant item. We, however, intentionally put coffee and liquor here because the sequence seems to better fit the requirements of the persons responding to questions so that better answers might be obtained. Tobacco, betel, and areca, for example, appear to have somewhat constant rates of consumption. They are usually bought in large quantities which will last for a considerable length of time. As a result, informants are in a position to give more accurate rates of consumption of these items than those of liquor and coffee of which consumption is somewhat irregular and is difficult to estimate.

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511 c. The family's purchasing power. Certain goods considered as luxuries -- medicine, eggs, pork and beef, and white sugar -- were not consumed by poor families.

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276 d. Individual taste and preference. The Moslems would not consume any pork although they had enough money
261 to buy it. Some poor farmers spent more money on curry
182 essence than their more affluent neighbors because they
511 preferred highly flavored dishes, and some tobacco smokers did not spend a cent on tobacco binder because they preferred the home-grown banana leaf binder to the thatch leaf binder which had to be purchased.

182
511 e. Producing ability of the family. It was observed
[184] that those who caught more fish tended to consume more fish regardless of their financial conditions.

f. Health affected the consumption of medicine.

[431] g. Prestige affected the amount of cash contributions
[476] to neighbors.
[554]

h. Personal habits -- thrift, fun loving, indulgence, like or dislike of liquor -- affected the amount of personal expense.

i. Presence or absence of children of school age in the family affected the consumption of cookies.

Special Expenses

511 By special expenses we mean major items of expenses which do not occur regularly but which may arise in one time or another. Examples: purchases of land, gold and

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recovery of a boat stolen, 390 baht on "laxity", and 30,000 baht on a trip to Mecca. The gifts to offspring included only gifts presented when offspring left the family to start an independent family of their own.

Special Receipts

*128
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By special receipts we mean major items of receipts in addition to those regularly obtained from crops, labor, rent, and interest on loans extended. These are counterparts of special expenses, and informations about them were obtained from the 96 sample-families in the same manner and almost concurrently. Examples of these special receipts are: sales of land, gold, and major farm equipment; loans obtained, full or partial settlement of loans extended; gifts and remittances; and odd receipts like those from government lottery prizes, running a gambling house, and laxity practices. Special receipts of the 96 sample-families during the period from March, 1948 to February, 1953 were shown in Table 58.

Some of these items of special receipts need explanation. Land sold by two farm operators were sold for cash needed for loan repayment. It is perhaps worth noting that one of these two operators was in the habit of heavy drinking and had been in recent years spending about two thousand baht annually on liquor alone, while the other was in the habit of gambling. All five operators reporting sales of gold gave the reason for the sale that cash was needed to either buy farm equipment (buffaloes) or to repay

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 333]